UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Unemployment and a Ruined World

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Straight Thinking on Questions of War

By ROLAND D. SAWYER

Mysterious Asia

By FREDERICK STARR

Heart Light

A Poem by ZONA GALE

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXVIII. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1921 Number 7

HEART LIGHT.

Do you imagine that the sun does it all?
Oh, no. That by which we see one another's faces
Comes in vibrations nearer than sunlight.
Delicately through all being there flows a current
Other than fluid of life. It shines and pales
And lets you look upon another's face
As if you were a lantern and went lit.
And this is the strange part: You see no one in his own light alone,
But in the light of the lantern of your own being.
If you bear no light within, he moves before you dimly.
You understand neither his wistfulness nor his effort.
He is dark to you, but this is your own darkness.
In youth, in love, the light shines like a sun.
How shall we feed this exquisite secret current
So that the world shall not sit longer in darkness
And in the shadow of death?

Zona Gale.

We lead off our editorials this week with the following significant quotation from our contemporary, *The Christian Century,* perhaps the most important, certainly the most successful, religious journal in America:

> The time has come when a considerable body of Christian people in all communities believe that in the matter of establishing a new church organization in any community there is only one consideration that is basic and valid, namely, the consideration of the community's actual religious needs. *The Christian Century* shares this view. We hold that it is now a violation of the will of Christ to establish a denominational church in any community where denominational churches are already overlapping and sapping the vitality of one another. The denominational impulse for self-extension has come to be not only an impertinent but a sinister force in modern Christianity.

It is unnecessary for us to enlarge upon this statement in view of all that we have been preaching in these columns in recent years. We agree with the editor of *The Christian Century* that "it is now a violation of the will of Christ to establish a denominational church in any community where denominational churches are already overlapping"—which means, practically speaking, in any community whatsoever! We also believe that an ever growing number of people in all communities are opposed to denominational extension work, in the conviction that in religious activity to-day "the one consideration that is basic and valid (is) the community's actual needs." The community, in other words, and not the denomination, must to-day be the basis of church organization! A denominational church, especially a newly organized one, is an impertinence. It is a direct attack upon the healthy social life of our democracy, and something therefore no more to be tolerated than a saloon or a Ku Klux Klan. It is appreciation of this fact, growing so rapidly in the consciousness of the American people, that makes so pathetic the attempts now being made so strenuously and so devotedly in many places, to revive our denominational organizations. Of what avail these "drives," or the millions of dollars raised in these "drives," or the campaign work financed by these dollars, when the people are *through* with sectarian interests altogether? As well sow seeds in the ice-fields of the Arctic as to plant Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Unitarian churches in the towns and cities of this country. Today such divisive institutions are regarded with indifference or amusement; tomorrow, they will be regarded with a hostility which means business. The age of Protestantism, with its characteristic denominational churches, is drawing rapidly to a close. Religion is now seeking a new basis of life and order, namely, the community. The religion of the future, although it may not bear this precise name, will be in essence community religion, and none other.

As we write this editorial, there is announced in flaring headlines in all the newspapers, the call for the greatest railroad strike in the history of the nation. Before this editorial is printed, the menace of this incredible disaster may be removed by the successful intervention of the government. Whether or not the strike comes off as scheduled, the basic fact remains the same—that there is warfare in that vast industry upon which the country depends most directly for the maintenance of its life! This is a situation as preposterous as though the veins and arteries of the body should battle against each other, and thus refuse to convey the blood throughout the physical organism. If the stones in the street should rise up and forbid the passing of vehicles, it could not be a more fearful spectacle. It is easy to blame the workers who have decreed this thing. We ourselves see no proportion between the injury suffered and the weapon raised; if a general strike must come off, it should be for nothing less than the final overthrow of an intolerable system of exploitation and repression. But what protection have we given the workers in a crisis of this kind? What resort have we provided for redress of grievances save that of force? What but disaster is deserved by a society which gives to the masses of its citizens no share in the management of its economic life save that which can be seized by threats of blockade and violence? Our industrial world is as chaotic as our international world, with destruction as the fruit of anarchy. If the present difficulties in the railroad world are settled and the strike avoided, the result will be only a truce between contending armies; a new strike is as certain to follow a few years hence,

as the present threatened strike follows the so-called settlement of the last threatened strike by the Adamson Law. What we need is fundamental action—social statesmanship which will order the economic world on the basis of the universal enfranchisement of labor.

President Harding's alarm that his Armament Conference may actually do something, is pathetic in the extreme. As the fateful day (November 11) approaches, he seems to tremble ever more violently at the prospect that his conferees may actually precipitate the indescribable calamity of reducing existing navies by a few ships and standing armies by a few regiments. First, the State Department issues a stern reminder that the conference is not a Disarmament Conference but a Conference for the Limitation of Armaments. Next come inspired reports from various "high authorities" in Washington, that the conference must not be expected to accomplish anything very substantial. Lastly, in positive terror at the insistence of the people in hoping for deliverance from the curse of arms and their constant threat of war, the President himself proclaims that:

> It is very erroneous even to suggest that we contemplate . . . the expectation of universal disarmament. . . . It is necessary to deal with actualities; to do the best possible. Universal disarmament would be beyond hope of realization; even its desirability at this time might well be questioned.

We are sorry for the President. It is terrible to contemplate the awful possibility of succeeding in a great enterprise beyond one's farthest hopes. It is still more terrible to realize that in this world of God and the living souls of men, Hope may itself *create*:

> "From its own wreck the thing it contemplates."

In our sympathy for Mr. Harding, we desire to help him all we can by saying that we think the chances of the Conference doing anything substantial are very slight, especially in view of the President's own determination, and even desire, that it shall *not* do anything substantial.

A recent Associated Press despatch from Paris presented some interesting facts. Here are a few of them:

France now has between 450,000 and 500,000 men under arms.

A standing army of this size is absolutely required by the alarming menace of Germany.

A German army of 100,000,000 men can be mobilized against France inside of a week.

The present German army has three times the number of transport vehicles per unit that it had in 1914.

Germany could easily muster enough rifles for waging a great war, the only arm in which she is totally lacking being artillery.

Germany has chemicals in abundance, while airplanes would be forthcoming in sufficient numbers with slight delay.

Are these allegations true? We do not know. The important thing is that the French believe them to be true, and are preparing to present them at the Conference in Washington as conclusive arguments against disarmament, or even reduction of armaments. This being the case, we will now ask the class in modern European history to rise and answer the following questions:

1. **Who won the war?**
2. **What did the war accomplish?**
3. **What did the 10,000,000 men killed in the war, die for?**
4. **Wherein are we any better off in 1921 than we were in 1914?**
5. **When will war end war?**

It is enough to wring tears from a crocodile to see the solicitude of newspaper editors, politicians, public leaders, for the search and seizure clause of the Constitution as it is now being affected by the prohibition question. We agree that a house should not be subject to "search and seizure without warrant" even in enforcement of the Volstead Act. We cannot for the life of us see why, in this case or in any other, it should be necessary for Congress to pass a law solemnly asseverating that the clause of the Constitution forbidding such search and seizure shall be obeyed. But why get so excited about this matter now—so "all of a sudden," as it were? For four years, no attention has been paid by the government to this provision of the Constitution. Throughout the period of the war and after, the Wilson administration made it a regular practice to enter without warrant any houses it pleased, to seize any papers and property it found interesting, even to arrest and hold any persons whose race or color, name or language, it did not happen to like. The tactics of Attorney General Palmer furnished the newspapers for months with exciting stories of burglary, theft, assault and battery, all "by due process of law." But did anybody complain, or protest, or remind the public that the Constitution forbade these things, or suggest that a law be passed making the Constitution something more than "a scrap of paper"? Only a few pacifists and civil liberty cranks! In these former cases, only the life and liberty of persons were involved—and these persons miserable aliens at that! But now *liquor* is in question! What wonder that the 100 per cent American rises in his wrath!

Senator Knox's great abilities and noble devotion to the nation's interests were denied all appropriate reward and even recognition by his amazing mania of modesty. The anonymous author of "The Mirrors of Washington" has revealed that behind Mr. Hughes' famous investigation of the New York insurance companies, was work by Knox for which acknowledgment was never given in generosity, as it was never asked in pride. The inside story of the last Republican national convention would seem to indicate that Knox

could have secured the presidential nomination by a mere turn of the hand, had he had the aggressive desire to win fame and power for himself. Holding the highest public offices through a long period of years, he never sought an appointment or contested an election. It was this innate modesty that earned him an unfortunate reputation for aloofness and indifference, and held him throughout his life in comparative obscurity. Nothing can permanently hide, however, the exalted nature of his public service, especially in these latter years when he led the "irreconcilables" in opposition to the Treaty of Versailles. First among all the public men in this country, Senator Knox discovered and proclaimed the abomination of the Peace—an act as extraordinary in its intellectual acumen as in its moral courage. More effectively then any other senator, he educated public opinion on this question in a series of masterful speeches, and persuaded the nation to a convinced repudiation of the Treaty and the Covenant. The incalculable worth of this service the future will recognize as the present cannot. Clear as noon-day will stand the record that it was due to Philander C. Knox, more than to any other single influence, that America, unlike the other Allied powers, did not lose everything, including honor, at Versailles.

We are always fascinated by any attempt to list great books, or authors. Hence, our interest in the recent test made among its readers by a London literary journal, on the question of "the forty British immortals" today in the field of letters! The first five named were Hardy, Kipling, Wells, Barrie and Shaw. With this, there can be little quarrel. Hardy and Kipling certainly belong at the top; the other three would follow in that or any other order. Our trouble begins with the listing of Joseph Conrad as number eight. This seems to us to be about a hundred and fifty numbers too high. For let us cast shame to the winds and confess that we regard Conrad's literary reputation as exaggerated beyond all estimate. We have read several of Conrad's books, and read them to the last word, too! The labor to reach that last word was in each case as the labors of Hercules, but we did it. We know of no greater achievement in our life than the finishing of "Chance," unless it be the finishing of "Lord Jim." We realize, of course, that this means that we are among the Philistines, that we are a minion of outer darkness, that our literary judgment is *nil!* But so be it! We will contentedly leave Joseph Conrad to those who admire him as the greatest genius since Homer, and we will take our hopelessly plebeian chances with Hardy, Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy and De Morgan.

Unemployment and a Ruined World

There are two sets of facts now before the world which would seem not only to adorn a tale but point a moral to any man who is capable of thought.

(1) The first set of facts pertains to *unemployment.* Men and women are out of work everywhere today. In England, for example, the British Ministry of Labor reported on May 6, 1921, that 1,920,500 persons had registered as unemployed. Since that date we are told that the situation has become worse rather than better, with appalling forecasts for the coming winter.

In Belgium, the Ministry of Industries, Labor and Supplies reports that in the 1,394 unemployment funds, with an aggregate membership of 609,340 workers, there were out of work on the last day of last January no less than 117,751 persons, or 19.3 per cent of the enrollment. Here, also, there has been no improvement in conditions during the summer.

In France, with its vast reconstruction undertakings, there is reported a total of 79,889 men and women in receipt of unemployment benefits from eight departmental and ninety-eight municipal unemployment funds.

In Germany the *Reicht Arbeitsblatt,* official and joint organ of the National Employment Service and Ministry of Labor, reports the number of workers in receipt of unemployment grants on March 1st last as 428,033, a decrease of 1.2 per cent from the preceding month. It may be said that Germany is the only European country in which the unemployment situation is improving rather than getting worse.

In Japan, no exact figures seem to be available, but the industrial situation is known to be extremely bad. Numerous factories have long since been forced to shut down by the prevailing economic conditions. In one district, for example, 1,076 establishments have been wholly or partially closed down, and 25,638 workers thus made idle.

In the United States, which was so little injured by the Great War, unemployment is worse than in any other country in the world, with the possible exception of Great Britain. In a report made to the Senate some months ago by Secretary Davis, it was stated that no less than 5,735,000 men and women are at present out of work in this country. In New York State alone, there were 447,000 fewer factory workers employed in June, 1921, than in March, 1920. Taking this figure as a basis of estimate for the entire country, Secretary Davis declared that there were probably as many as 2,825,000 factory employes idle at this moment. Mr. Davis' report classified the unemployed as follows: Manufacturing and mechanical industries, including the building trades, 3,900,000; mining, 250,000; transportation, 800,000; trade and clerical workers, 450,000; domestic and personal service, 335,000. This makes a

grand and tragic total of 5,735,000. It should be said that Secretary Hoover's Unemployment Conference insisted upon lowering this estimate. Even so, the number of workers known to be out of employment is appalling.

In New York City, the most recent estimates reveal a total number of unemployed approximating 500,000. The New York *World* (September 1st) declares that "more men (are) out of work than in the lean days of 1914—more men beseiging the Municipal Lodging House and the charity organizations—and winter hardships only a few months off. Included in the total of half a million idle are 50,000 former soldiers and sailors in the Great War, according to an estimate made and published by the American Legion.

Closed factories, motionless machines, idle hands, hungry mouths, thousands walking the streets of cities in quest of food and shelter and, above all things else, a chance to do an honest day's work—this is the first set of facts which is before us at this moment!

(2) It would seem reasonable to suppose that such an unemployment situation as this can have but a single explanation—namely, that all the wants of men are satisfied, and there is nothing therefore at the moment for workers to do. There must be more houses in the world than there are families to inhabit them, more food than there are mouths to eat, more clothing than there are bodies to wear, more shoes than there are feet to tread leather. Mankind must have gotten ahead of itself in the matter of supply and demand, and therefore is waiting for need to exhaust existing surplus. Surely nothing else can explain such unemployment as is now everywhere prevailing!

It is this surmise, as rational in theory as it is wide of the mark in reality, which brings us to a second set of present-day facts, which pertains to what we may call *a ruined world*. As a result of the Great War, we see a world shattered from end to end—its supplies exhausted, its equipment broken or fallen into decay, its wealth depleted to the verge of universal bankruptcy. Two processes went on from 1914 to 1918, which together operated to reduce Europe to such a condition of wreckage as the continent has not known since the darkest epochs of the Dark Ages. The utter devastation wrought over a small area by the Thirty Years War, was this time extended over almost the whole expanse of European life.

In the first place, there was the direct destruction achieved by the war operations of contending armies. Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Galicia, Poland, Russia, these are a few of the countries where, over vast areas, cities were pounded into ash heaps, farm lands transformed into deserts, mines and factories wrecked or ruined altogether, and great populations of helpless people left to wander as fugitives across a friendless earth. The number of homes destroyed, the amount of property annihilated, the total of productive enterprise and accumulated wealth wiped permanently out of existence, will never be known. Statisticians simply jot down wild figures running into the billions and trillions, and let it go at that!

In the second place, throughout these years of crazy conflict the labor of men was deliberately turned from productive to destructive forms of activity. Scores of millions of men—and these the youngest, strongest and most skilful!—were taken out of industry altogether, and placed in the trenches to do as much damage to the world as possible. The workers who were left behind, and the millions of women drafted to take the places of the workers at the front, busied themselves at such useful forms of toil as making ammunition and rifles, bombs and poisonous gas, manufacturing clothing, shoes and food for armies, building ships to be sunk by submarines, cantonments to be dismantled in a period of a year or two and sold for waste lumber, flying machines and automobiles to be thrown on the rubbish heap after a few days' or even hours' use. Meanwhile the needs of life went unsupplied—men went without clothing, shoes, food, that the battle might not fail; houses were not built, railroads extended or repaired, fields tilled, for lack of labor or supplies. Everywhere, in all places of the inhabited globe, where civilization was not blown to pieces, it grew poor. On New Year's Day of 1919, there was probably more dearth in the world than ever before in human history.

It is these two processes of destruction and deficit, operating through a period of more than four years, which have brought us what we now behold as a ruined world. Men are everywhere in a condition of more or less want and misery. In great areas of Europe—Austria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, the Balkans—the population has for years been living in a condition of semi-starvation, and now in many places perish wretchedly of famine and disease. In other places, more remote from the centers of waste and death, even in the United States which prospered rather than suffered from the war, people have not houses enough to live in, clothing enough to wear, nor fuel enough to burn. Railroads are everywhere in need of repair and extension—all the machinery of the whole earth, with the exception of battleships and arsenals, is in a state of indescribable decay. Work for every pair of hands, for years of come, is here! The problem of unemployment, if none other, has surely been solved by the Great War for this generation at least!

And yet—a world crying out for productive enterprise, is filled with idle men! Men idle not because they are shiftless or rebellious, but because there is no work to be had! Think of it—*no work to be had!* Millions homeless—and no work for carpenters and masons! Millions starving—and farmers cannot sell their crops! A whole continent in need of the basic supplies of life—and freight cars pile up on the sidings,

and ships rust at the wharves! Was there ever such a paradoxical situation?

Yes, many times before! Such a situation as this is a regularly recurring incident of modern industrial life. The situation which exists today is a more intensely dramatic and far-sweeping phenomenon because of the aggravation of the Great War, but in essence it is only what has occurred many times before, in all capitalistic countries, in what is known as "panics," or periods of industrial depression. Once in so often everything goes to pieces, and workers are everywhere unemployed, quite apart from all questions of human need.

The economic philosophy of such a situation as this, we do not propose to discuss at this time or in this place. We are quite content to leave this problem to the experts in this field. We simply want to put together these two sets of facts—unemployment, and a ruined world!—and ask our readers to look at them good and hard. Then, to make the spectacle a bit more vivid, we want to ask this question: Could such a situation exist, especially in the aftermath of war, if industry were organized and conducted on a basis of *service* instead of *profit?*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

COSMIC HAZE.

I.

What a glorified face!—so bright, so sweet:
A child's dear face! and his glances fleet
Shift from his play to his mother's face,
Reflecting a million years of grace.
Yes, earth took a million years to make him:
What wonder high thoughts to love awake him,
Or that I stand in awe and gaze
At the outcome high of the cosmic haze.

II.

What a demonized face!—so wild, so fierce:
A man's hard face! and his glances pierce
Through the smoke of war to aim a ball
To cause a brother of earth to fall.
Yes, earth took a million years to make him—
And another with murderous shaft to break him.
In wonder and awe I stand and gaze
At the outcome mad of the cosmic haze.

III.

What a face transformed!—in vision I see it
And know the whole race in the future shall be it!—
Not a face of love only, but love with sight;
Of love with strength, and of love with right.
Yes, Man shall himself now endeavor the task
Of remaking the earth as the multitudes ask;
And in wonder and awe he shall stand and gaze
At the outcome at last of the cosmic haze.

JAMES H. WEST.

It has been common to designate our form of government as a democracy, but in the true sense in which that term is properly used, as defining a government in which all its acts are performed by the people, it is about as far from it as any other of which we are aware.—*Justice Miller of U. S. Supreme Court.*

CONTRIBUTED

Is Germany Safe for Democracy and Peace?

For a number of reasons one does not hear much about what the Germans think of the "sanctions," and more particularly what they think about the military occupation of the Rhine cities. The newspapers in the whole occupied area are all carefully censored by representatives of the Allied military commands and no complaint or criticism, whether just or without foundation, is allowed to appear on pain of immediate suppression of the newspaper and punishment of the editor. Even in the rest of Germany one does not hear much about the occupation—the Germans are learning to be cautious. That the occupation of the Allied and American armies, however, and particularly that of the French, is not only an enormous expense to the German government, which it must meet entirely in addition to the heavy financial obligations assumed with the unconditional acceptance of the final ultimatum of the Allies, but that it entails also the greatest humiliation and exasperation to the citizens of the occupied towns is clear to all those acquainted with the facts.

In a recent editorial in the Berlin *Vorwaerts,* which is reported to be the organ of the government, there appeared the following interesting statement, which one who desires to know what a hostile military occupation of a modern civilized, industrial community means, cannot do better than read carefully. The obvious restraint with which the article was written adds to its impressiveness:

"Mr. Briand in the senate lately spoke of the evacuation of the newly occupied zone as being a thing to happen in the distant future, although we have fulfilled an essential part of the conditions which led to these sanctions. Therefore we think it seasonable to tell the German public and also people in the Allied countries what the treatment of this area is like.

"Although there are in Duesseldorf from pre-war days large military barracks, the French recently instructed the town council to build a new one at once. The cost will be twelve million marks. The construction is now in full swing and nursery gardens and crops are being destroyed to make way for it. Moreover, the town must erect fifty-seven stables that cost three and a half million marks, and in addition some outbuildings that add another odd hundred thousand. The German building regulations are ignored; *the ammunition sheds must be built right in the middle of the town* beside the barracks. Great numbers of lodgings have been confiscated, not only for the French soldiers, but also for their families, which they have brought with them. The house of a banker, furnished very comfortably, was demanded for the French general, and was required to be repaired and altered, the costs amounting to half a million marks. A neighboring building was taken for office purposes (involving an expense of about 800,000 marks), although there is only a few minutes away a fully equipped office building. Several schools have been confiscated, including the gymnasium and the bathrooms, thus disarranging and making difficult the education of the children.

"Last Tuesday the town council was instructed to provide the French with a hundred three-room lodgings until nightfall. In the beginning of the occupa-

tion a single French officer demanded for his own use fourteen easy chairs. Of the confiscated automobiles and motor lorries only part has as yet been given back. The drivers must report themselves to the military authorities and must remain at their disposal. The other day 20,000 blankets and 20,000 beds were demanded. There was only a period of grace given from morning until night. It is inevitable that the town council can fulfill these enormous demands only by using the proffered help of profiteers.

"Instead of taking place at the old butts, the shooting practice of the French troops is held in the public town forest, the largest part of which, therefore, is closed to the public during five days of the week. That the French intend to settle forever in Duesseldorf is indicated by their giving names to their barracks such as 'Napoleon,' 'Foch,' 'Joffre' and 'Petain.' The right of public assembly has been enormously curtailed, even concerts being disturbed, and because the old Prussian music of drum and fife is threatening the security of France, the performances of street musicians are prohibited. Law breakers are threatened with deportation to Mark Brandenburg (Berlin), which apparently is regarded as a sort of Siberia. The income from fines already amounts perhaps to 150,000 marks. Owing to the new customs-border, industry and trade must wait for outward licenses several weeks. Much commercial enterprise is thereby paralyzed. Several factories must be closed down because their buildings have been required to give shelter to troops. From the large rolling mill "Phoenix" about six hundred workers were discharged last week. More dismissals are expected.

"Who can doubt that all of this will create great enthusiasm for France in the newly occupied zone along the Rhine?"

In spite of all these things every fair-minded visitor in Germany who takes the trouble to become informed is astonished at the lack of hatred against their conquerors expressed in the words and apparently in the hearts of Germans of almost every class. Embedded in the outside wall of one of Berlin's fashionable shops on a busy corner of Unter den Linden a medallion of American flags in colored mosaic is conspicuous and has been unmolested ever since it was put there several years ago. The American flag is not infrequently visible in Germany, and even the French flag was displayed upon the stage of Berlin's greatest theater for several weeks without exciting so much as a hiss during a performance of Romain Rolland's drama "Danton." The masterpieces of Shakespeare and Bernard Shaw, the plays of Oscar Wilde, and the syncopated dances of America are produced in Berlin nightly. Ever since the peace treaty was signed it has been possible to send telegrams written and delivered in English from or to any large city in Germany. The Germans, either because of superior intelligence or because of a different temperamental constitution, seem to get no violent reactions even in thought from these things. Who can imagine the German flag exhibited in New York or Washington or London or Paris without consequences that would be unpleasant, to say the least? . . . Little things they are, but significant of much that makes for national sobriety or hysteria.

The bulwark of the new democratic régime in Germany, the thing which has successfully prevented every attempt at military or monarchist reaction up to the present time, is not a political party nor any group of political parties, but the organized labor movement. It was a general strike of the operators of essential public utilities, set in motion all over Germany with amazing promptness, and involving more than five million organized workers, which paralyzed the country and defeated the ill-advised "Kapp Coup," when the president and cabinet had fled and the new army and Sicherheitspolizei could not be counted upon. It is that class in Germany which has expressed the greatest satisfaction at the compulsory demobilization and disarmament which has been proceeding, with few exceptions, to the satisfaction of the Allied representatives—particularly of the British. It is that class which is resolutely opposed to any revival of conscription or militarism, and which, for the present at least, insures the continuation of a democratic régime in Germany and renders utterly impossible the preparation of any war of revenge against France or of any considerable military operation against Poland. Yet, with the irony of an inscrutable fate, it is precisely that class which is doomed to the greatest and most prolonged suffering by the operation of the military "sanctions," with the dislocation of industry and prices which they involve, and by the execution of the terms of the final ultimatum of the Allies with the crushing burden of taxation which they have brought. It is essential to the peace of the world that public opinion in America should understand this situation, and the tragic way in which the wholesome influence of the German labor and pacifist movements is steadily being destroyed, by the ever present menace of invasion from the west, by the manner in which the authority of the Treaty of Versailles has been defied in Upper Silesia, where German troops have been disarmed by the Allies and German citizens massacred by Polish insurrectoes, by the elastic way in which the treaty elsewhere has been interpreted to the advantage of Germany's enemies, and finally, by the terms themselves which were so flagrantly at variance with the stipulations of the armistice and the fair-spoken pledges of the President by which the Germans concluded the war.

The German labor and pacifist groups are confronted today with the spectacle of unrighteous force disturbing, defying, destroying German life and property, and they have seen with dismay those who proclaimed themselves to be the resolute defenders of justice and peace and the rights of the weak, frequently conniving at and subsequently ratifying the ambitions and acquisitions of illicit violence. Both of these movements, therefore, after a great increase of influence following the revolution, have steadily declined in power and prestige during the last year. Although numerous German political writers are talking of the wisdom of non-resistance and conciliation in the present helplessness of Germany, much of this talk is only a kind of moralistic opportunism, without sincerity of conviction behind it, and there is only one genuine pacifist newspaper in Berlin—*Die Welt am Montag,* edited by Helmuth von Gerlach.

Even the German branch of the organized women's peace movement, the "Internationale Frauenliga fuer Frieden und Freiheit," is conscious of a kind of impotence or moral bankruptcy in the face of the existing situation, and can do little more than hope that a real league of nations will some day be established which Germany can join; for the rest it makes some feeble attempt to combat the growing strength of the reaction through education. But, like middle-class

liberalism everywhere, it is fundamentally weak. Some of its members refused to attend the most important congress of the women's international league for peace since the war, which convened in Vienna in July, because two of the most active women anti-militarists in Germany, Frau Anita Augsburg and Frau Lida Hymann, are Communists and were delegates to the congress. So great is the middle-class prejudice in Germany against everything that even seems to threaten any curtailment or fundamental modification of the existing ruthlessly competitive industrial system of the world, based upon the legally protected and socially uncontrolled right of private property and profit, and of the economic exploitation of material and of men.

On the occasion of the recent public announcement of the Chancellor that the German government is resolved fully to carry out the demands of the Allies for complete disarmament of the remaining German military organizations, such as the "Selbstschutz" and the Bavarian "Einwohnerwehr" (volunteer home-guard organizations in Upper Silesia and Bavaria) he received several interesting telegrams of congratulation of which the two following translations are typical:

(1) The Peace League of War-participants ("Friedensbund der Kriegsteilnehmer") for the district of Bavaria, considers it to be its duty to congratulate the Chancellor upon the determined and manly stand he has taken in the question of disarmament. We former soldiers of Bavaria have regarded the propaganda of hatred and revenge carried on especially in the south, as absolutely unjustifiable and in striking contrast to our present military power. The Chancellor may be assured that we who are best able to appreciate the misfortune of a new war, will most earnestly co-operate with you if you wil lead the German people into a future of international justice and understanding.

(Signed) CAPTAIN SCHUETZINGER.

(2) The German Pacifist-Students' League in the University of Berlin rejoices at the earnest determination with which the Chancellor has carried out the disarmament of the population. Only by means of unconditional disarmament and the disbanding of the Einwohnerwehr, the self-protection forces and all other illegitimate military organizations, can the confidence of the professional classes and of the nations of the world be awakened—a thing which is the first condition of any cultural restoration.

Similar telegrams also came from the German Peace Society and from the "Monistenbund."

It must be said, in all honesty, that the groups which sent these messages are not of great influence in Germany, and that such influence as they have is indubitably waning. It is, therefore, probably a fair statement that, although there are hundreds of thousands of men and women in all walks of life—particularly among the ranks of organized labor and ex-soldiers—who are wearied and outraged by war and resolved firmly to oppose it in every possible way, there is no considerable anti-militarist movement or party in Germany, as such. There is an organization of war-service opponents (Kriegsdienstgegner) which claims several thousand members, most of whom are former soldiers, who have pledged themselves unconditionally to refuse all war service, direct or indirect, whether in foreign or domestic conflict; but the movement is not likely to grow in the present condition of Germany and the present policy of France. There are, in addition, several groups of "intellectuals" seeking to create interest and enthusiasm for the existing League of Nations and to bring about Germany's admission into it—the Liga fuer Voelkerbund, and a much more genuinely pacifist group, which includes the distinguished names of Professor Einstein and Professor Nicolai, calling itself the "Bund Nues Vaterland." The latter has interested itself largely with propaganda for a genuine League of Nations, and with an effort to influence education towards the desirability and possibility of peace as opposed to the old superstitions of the inevitability and necessity of war. But in Germany, as in France, England, Italy, and to some extent in the United States, the most ardent opponents of war are ranging themselves more and more with one or another branch of the Socialist or Communist party, seeing utterly no hope elsewhere. This new tendency is one of the factors which seems to be bringing about a reconciliation between the Independent Socialist and Communist parties in Germany—a consummation devoutly to be wished and a movement which gives some promise of developing sufficient strength during the coming difficult months and years to challenge, if not to succeed, by pacific parliamentary means the present colorless and unstable coalition government.

BRENT DOW ALLINSON.

Berlin, July, 1921.

Straight Thinking on These Questions of War

Fifty wars in the last one hundred years; thirty-two millions of men dying in the ranks and sixty millions of civilians dying from hardships—*this is the glory of war* among civilized nations.

The world war cost 350 billions of dollars, ten millions of soldier lives and over twice as many civilian lives—*this is the profit of war.*

We enlisted four millions of brave youth, inspired them to march away by telling them that they were fighting to end war. Now we spend one thousand million dollars to build ships and guns for another war—*this is the honesty of war.*

Every college and university in the land is turning away youth who desire education; five institutions like Dartmouth College can be equipped and maintained for the cost of one battleship—*this is the good sense of war.*

We spent 55 millions on preparations for war in 1881; we spend a thousand million in 1921; 92.8 cents of every dollar paid in taxes by the people goes to pay the cost of wars—*this is the statesmanship of war.*

Why not, in the name of common sense, cease this murder and destruction, check this waste of money, keep faith with our brave boys who fought, give the youth of the land a chance at education, stop piling burdens upon the backs of patient taxpayers, and right about face and be a nation of peace?

THE FACTS ARE

The race for larger armaments is race to national bankruptcy. Another war will destroy civilization, and another war is inevitable if we all equip big armies. The world must find some less expensive way to settle disputes—why not adopt the Christian policy and disarm.

IS NON-RESISTANCE VISIONARY?

They tell us the non-resistant is selfish, he forgets the women and children at home, whom war protects. Let us see: ten millions of women have died from disease and hardship; another ten millions have borne unutterable anguish and suffering and live on in broken, hopeless lives; another ten millions still suffer, do the

work of men, and see no hope of peace this side of the grave. Forty millions of women were four years ruled by armies in their midst, suffering all that such means. Twenty millions of children died, or live victims of mal-nutrition, owing to the war. Malformed, mal-nourished, diseased children crowd Europe; 11 millions children in Europe are orphans. Admitting Germany the aggressor and cause of the war, can any man believe that Germany, if unresisted by force, would have caused even a small fraction of all this suffering and bloodshed? War is a ghastly failure. Jesus's policy of non-resistance, of winning by love and not by force, is *wise* as well as *right*.

America's Pacifist President

In 1800, in a time of war, in the days when Napoleon was strutting upon the stage, the fortunes of America were entrusted to a pacifist President. Looking upon a world divided into great military alliances, Thomas Jefferson calmly disdained entering any military compacts or preparations, he cut the little American army to 2,500 men, reduced the navy to seven vessels, and said he wished he could find some creek where he could lay those away. Boldly, that fine, far-seeing man threw away the scabbard and directed this nation upon a pathway of peaceful pursuits. One shudders to think what might have happened had the militaristic Burr been elected instead of Jefferson. Our nation stood then at the parting of the ways—it was the crucial hour, and America was saved by a man wise enough and brave enough to disdain armaments in war.

Be-Think Yourselves!

The world war cost us 100,000 lives and 30 billions of money; 23,000 new millionaires were made, and the profits of the DuPont Powder Company ran to near a billion dollars; dividends of the stock amounted to 458 per cent. None of the newspapers financed by DuPont, or by any of the 23,000 new millionaires support a disarmament conference; they all believe in preparedness. Shall we think for ourselves, or shall we allow these editors to think for us?

Roland D. Sawyer.

President Nicholas Murray Butler on the Duty of America

The following is a quotation from an address delivered by Nicholas Murray Butler, at the opening exercises of the Academic Year of Columbia University, on September 23, 1914. Can anyone doubt that these strong words are even more true today than they were the day on which they were uttered. The entire address was published under the title, "The Great War and Its Lessons," by the American Association for International Conciliation, in October, 1914.

"Again a final end has now been put to the contention, always stupid and often insincere, that huge armaments are an insurance against war and an aid in maintaining peace. This argument was invented by the war-traders who had munitions of war to sell, and was nothing more than an advertisement of their business. Sundry politicians, many newspapers, and not a few good people who are proud to have their thinking done for them, accepted this advertisement as a profound political truth. Its falsity is now plain to everyone. Guns and bullets and armor are not made to take the place of postage stamps and books and laboratories and other instruments of civilization and of peace. . . .

"It seems pretty clear that when the present huge supplies of guns and ammunition are used up in the contest now going on, no civilized people will ever again permit its government to enter into a competitive race. The time may not be so very far distant when to be the first moral power in the world will be a considerably greater distinction than to be the first military power or even the second naval power, which latter goal is so constantly and subtly urged on the people of the United States. How any one, not fit subject for a mad house, can find in the awful events now happening in Europe, a reason for increasing the military and naval establishments of the United States, is to me wholly inconceivable.

". . . The first notable victim of the Great War was the eloquent and accomplished French Parliamentarian, M. Jaurès. He was murdered by a war-crazed fanatic. In the course of a long and intimate conversation with M. Jaurès shortly before his tragic death, he dwelt much on the part that America could play in binding the nations of Europe together. He spoke of the success of the policies that had been worked out here to make the United States and Germany and the United States and France better known to each other, . . . and he thought that through the agency of the United States it might eventually be practicable to draw Germany and France together in trust and friendship. As we parted his last words to me were: 'Do not leave off trying. No matter what the difficulties are, do not leave off trying.' Today the words of this great socialist leader of men, seem like a voice from beyond the grave. They are true. We must not leave off trying. When exhaustion, physical and economic, brings this war to an end, as I believe it will at no distant day, the task of America will be heavy and responsible. It will be for us to bind up the war's wounds, to soften war's animosities and to lead the way in the colossal work of reconstruction that must follow. Then if our heads are clear and our hearts strong, and our aims unselfish—and if our nation continues to show that it always means to keep its plighted word—we may gain new honor and imperishable fame for our country. We may yet live to see our great policies of peace, of freedom from entangling alliances, of world concert instead of balance of power, of an international judiciary and an international police, of international co-operation instead of international suspicion, generally assented to and, as a result, the world's resources set free to improve the lot of peoples, to advance science and scholarship, and to raise humanity to a level yet unheard of. There lies the path of national glory, and here is the call to action in the near future."

The only comment on these high words that is needed is that if there was any truth in them in September, 1914, that they are immeasurably more true today. The peoples of Europe can only view with terror in their hearts the preparations in our beloved country to lead the way to the repetition of the catastrophe which overwhelmed Europe in 1914. Surely that is not our great mission. And if we do may the good God in his infinite pity forgive us, for humanity never can.

Arthur L. Weatherly.

The beautiful is nothing else than the visible form of good.—*Plato*.

A People's Press

Lester F. Ward's final word on social progress was that the knowledge now possessed by a few must be universally diffused, upon which, he held, the problems now most vexing would almost settle themselves. A well-informed electorate is a presupposition of democracy. The average of enlightenment among American citizens is not high, and the American "democracy" is not very democratic.

The public school system does not meet the need. Ability to read is excellent, provided one has something worth reading. But when one who seeks information through the printed page reads chiefly falsehood, fallacy, and folly, *cui bono?* Another Ward, more popular in his day than Lester F., remarked: "It is better to be ignorant than to know so many things that ain't so."

"The light of the body is the eye." The light of the modern body politic and social is the press. If that eye be evil, society is full of darkness. And how great is that darkness! Better to grope in blindness than to have eyes that seem to see while in fact they misreport reality, making good evil and evil good.

The untrustworthiness of the newspapers has been sufficiently demonstrated. The reasons for that untrustworthiness are not obscure. But the remedy—there's the rub! There is but one adequate remedy, viz., a people's press, a publication owned and supported by all the people, open to all the people, and delivered to all the people. There is but one agency through which all the people act, and that is the government. A people's press must be a function of the government.

The average citizen who has read to this point will decline to give attention further, objecting: "Whatever the government does is done inefficiently, wastefully and usually corruptly. A government-owned publication would entrench in power a bureaucracy, would be partisan, narrow, intolerant," etc. Nevertheless there is no other practical remedy. The fact may as well be admitted. And not all governmental activities are nefarious! Public education is of the government, and not half bad! There should be, in effect, a public school for the grown-ups, an open forum in which anyone may ask questions and express views in the hearing of everybody else.

As the organ of the government officials, or of any part of them, a publication would be foredoomed. What is herein advocated is a people's organ, independent of the existing governmental departments, except that it must look to Congress to provide the wherewithal. An important exception, truly, but not necessarily fatal to the plan. Even as the legislators of various Western states provide generously for universities, not because of political patronage or local "pork" involved therein, but because their constituents recognize the worth of a state university, so a just appreciation on the part of the public of the importance of a journal devoted to truth and unhindered by controlling interests from telling the truth, would compel Congress to vote the necessary appropriations. This would be but slight in comparison with the cost of battleships. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The people can judge wisely of various policies only as they are acquainted with the pertinent facts. Not "eternal vigilance" only but eternal enlightenment, also "is the price of liberty."

Facts must be interpreted as well as reported, to the end that experience may lead to progress. The men of vision, who see how from the materials the past has gathered to construct a fairer future, must have access to the general mind. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." And where the seer has no chance to communicate his vision to the people, they perish just the same. A people's organ will be an instrument of social progress. It must be open to every significant group and even—with reasonable safeguards—to individuals that are convinced that they have valuable counsels to impart to their countrymen. A board of directors might be elected on the principle of proportional representation. The directors should choose the editor and lay down rules for his guidance. Certain space might be regularly allotted to political parties and other organizations, to be filled by them through writers of their own choice. The administration should have room for explaining and justifying its policy, and the opposition equal room for attacking that policy.

Thus two immensely important ends would be furthered by a people's press, general enlightenment by the universal dissemination of accurate information, and social progress by the universal diffusion of advanced ideas.

Brookline, Mass. HENRY W. PINKHAM.

CORRESPONDENCE

Massachusetts Guilty?

To the Editors of UNITY:

Is Massachusetts a mere Murderbund or a Christian Commonwealth? The New Day whose resplendent sun is rising awaits the answer. The morally befogged state—apparently not unwilling to commit a capital crime for Capitalism—has dipped its fateful pen in clotted ink to write the answer. If the step in blood Massachusetts has already taken is not retraced, and she stands confirmed in guilt, she may say, with mock complacency, "What I have written, I have written." She may go further and say, in the words of fiend-like Lady Macbeth, "A little water clears us of this deed; how easy is it then!"

Easy to murder Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti? Under American skies? Easy to murder these countrymen of Christoforo Colombo and his brother Bartolomeo in "Columbia, happy land"? Easy to murder these generous and intrepid spirits that might have companied with Jesus and been named by Him "Boanerges" after Christendom has reflected for nineteen centuries on the murder of Jesus on false charges by a mammonized Church and a mammonized State?

Yes! Murder is always easy; both private murder and public murder. Nothing is easier to commit than murder. The slightest pressure of the finger on a trigger or a pen, and the deed is done. Like a streak of lightning life leaps through the door of death into the dark. Murder is always easy—so great is God's trust in human brotherliness! Easy to commit, but not easy to get away with! God could not permit that! God does not permit that, whether the murderer is an individual or a State! The blood of Jesus the Just, shed by wicked hands to the end that they might rob the poor with greater impunity and less annoyance, is as fresh on the earth today as the day it was shed. And that generous and intrepid blood will never dry or cease to plead to Heaven and high-hearted men until

the social crimes against which His living voice cried out have been brought to a final end.

So far as anything to the contrary has been proved, or half proved, Sacco and Vanzetti are as innocent of the base crime for which they have been sentenced to be electrocuted as the judge who pronounced their doom, or the Governor of Massachusetts, or the Vice President of the United States. It was in Dedham—not in the presence, but in the dark shadow of Justice—that sentence was passed upon them. Not far from Dedham, once upon a time, before the worship of Mammon in Massachusetts had reached its present menacing proportions, certain "embattl'd farmers" made a stand for freedom and "fired the shot heard round the world." Well—the answer Massachusetts writes with the fateful pen she now holds in her stained right hand will also be heard round the world!

If Massachusetts murders Sacco and Vanzetti, henceforth Massachusetts and *massacre* will be synonyms among just men. And to execute these men, on the hollow ground of the flimsy case made out against them in the fetid atmosphere of the abandoned haunt of justice in Dedham where they underwent a legal lynching too characteristic of these hysterical times, would be plain murder. Unspeakably mean murder. Murder most foul. Deep and far-reaching, too. Murder that would stain the hands and the honor of every citizen of Massachusetts and blight the moral sensibilities of her very children for generations to come. Murder that would affront the awakening social and moral sense of the whole world. This crime can not be committed in a corner. The night of injustice is far spent. The New Day is at hand. The Sun of Justice is now shining full upon the so-called "Hub of the Universe." And millions of earnest human eyes, that loathe injustice and all its works, are fastened upon it.

Massachusetts—for her own sake, for America's sake, for humanity's sake—must not commit this mean and monstrous murder. It would be absolutely inexcusable. It would be a deed beyond repentance.

Baltimore, Md. MERCER G. JOHNSTON.

A SONG FOR MORNING.

Makers of poems limpid and lilting,
Strummers of tunes romantic and tearful,
Learn the fresh music of mountains gigantic,
Heed the wild runes of the free-bounding rivers;
Hark to the corn song that bursts from the prairie—
Song old as nature, dewy as morning,
Song everlasting, regenerating,
Sung by our sires in pioneer cabins,
Hummed by our mothers, by Indians threatened,
Over the cradles of burgeoning peoples.

Learn the new chants of times democratic,
Free as the ocean, strong as the tempest;
Sing the new life of comrades close-tethered;
Sing the new love that leaps over mountains,
Crossing the sea and flooding like sunrise.

Makers of poems limpid and lilting,
Leave the old tunes of vanishing nations,
Learn the fresh songs of a new world-affection,
Chant the new music of brothers and lovers.

—*Thomas Curtis Clark.*

When we talk of safeguarding democracy, liberty and the rights of small nations, we really only mean the muzzling of the junkerism in human nature; the restraint of this trampling instinct.—*Galsworthy.*

THE STUDY TABLE

Mysterious Asia

Gilbert Reid has for many years lived in China. He was at first a regular missionary under the Presbyterian Board; later he conducted a special socio-educational work among the higher classes of the Chinese, finding its medium in his International Institute at Shanghai. During the early part of the great war, he conducted an English newspaper at Peking, which was somewhat pro-German in attitude. The events of the war drove him from his field of labor, to which he has recently returned. This book[1] was his parting word, in leaving his native, for his adopted, land. It is of special interest as showing the way in which China was forced into the war, the promises and hopes that influenced her, the fact that the promises have been largely forgotten and the hopes dissipated, and that China's condition today is no better than it would be if she had kept out of a conflict in which she had no real reason to engage. Dr. Reid believes that Germans have, on the whole, treated China better than other foreigners have done. Where her original foothold was gained through threat and display of force, Germany's occupation has been one of friendliness and co-operation, with little tendency to further encroachment and no real effort towards political control. This conduct is in striking contrast to both British and Japanese procedure. Japan in taking over German privileges in Shantung is not administering them as Germans did; she is seeking a control which pays little attention to Chinese feelings and Chinese rights—she is antagonizing, rather than co-operating. Dr. Reid doubts that Japan's presence in China has any legal warrant. He studies the entire question in the light of international law. He emphasizes the fact that Japan, in her attack upon Tsingtao, deliberately ignored China's rights as a neutral nation, marching forces through her territory against her protest. While in his strong sympathy with the Chinese, Dr. Reid is to some degree anti-Japanese, he is no blind partisan. He sees no greater crime in Japan's acts being dictated by her own interests and ambitions, than in similar acts similarly impelled done by European nations. He recognizes that Japan's geographical position gives her a more vital interest and concern than any European nation can have in Chinese affairs, and he refuses to be blinded to European injustice and aggression, by any effort on the part of those nations to conceal their misdeeds by magnifying those of Japan. He demands that all nations give China simple justice, that all surrender their special privileges and return self-control to her. He sees no reason that Japan alone should do so. He realizes that for Japan to be the only one to surrender advantages would be serious for her, even threatening her national existence. For Japan to get out of Shantung, with the probability that Britain would promptly get in, would be national suicide. The most important part of Dr. Reid's discussion is that which uncovers our own dealings with China during these recent years. Was it we who drove her to sever relations with Germany? Was it largely our influence that drove her into war? Did we encourage her in unwarranted hopes? Have we abandoned her to an unhappy solution of affairs? Dr. Reid has hopes for China's future,

[1] "China, Captive and Free." Gilbert Reid. New York: 1921. Dodd, Mead and Co. 16mo; pp. ix, 324.

but only if all foreign nations unite in giving up their special privileges and vie with one another in an effort to do her justice and to aid in her advancement.

In some ways like Dr. Reid, Mr. Bland is in other ways almost his opposite. He is no novice in writing about things Chinese. He rarely goes outside of China as he does in his newest book.[2] Bland was for thirty years resident in China, where he was secretary to Sir Robert Hart, the famous English administrator of Chinese customs. What he writes about China deserves careful consideration, although it is often contrary to generally cherished sentiments, and his last book upon Chinese conditions called out a torrent of protest. After ten years' absence, he has again visited China, and this book gives us his opinion of the present situation. It consists of two parts—a political survey, and studies and impressions. He is still anti-German and frequently refers to the wicked machinations of the Germans through the war. His attitude is pro-British, wherever that is possible, and he considers Britain the one foreign white nation which must lead in the difficult task of adjusting Chinese affairs. His book is addressed more, however, to us than to Britain. Admiring the Chinese profoundly, admitting on every occasion that they have a better scheme of life, a happier and profounder philosophy of existence, than we ourselves, he sees no solution of China's political problems, by the Chinese or through Chinese methods. China is today a prey to herself. Every local official thinks only of plunder, of getting rich while the opportunity lasts. This is as true today as it has ever been in the past, but the present misfortune is that there is no rallying point for a central power, no man of sufficient strength to hold the rapacious mandarinate in reasonable control. No one will sacrifice his own interests for the good of the nation. Every local leader feels that others should sacrifice themselves, but *he* cannot. Mr. Bland has an unfavorable idea of the young China that has been missionary trained and foreign educated. It is filled with badly comprehended, undigested, western notions. It employs catch-words that are not genuine, but which deceive the outside world. The boys and girls who have grown up under mission influences and have been educated abroad have no clear ideas and no true sense of their problems. The so loudly heralded revolution is a failure. What is called "the Great Republic" is a chaos, where civil war has become a profession. Sun Yat Sen and Wellington Koo are sadly overestimated persons, who have failed to show themselves constructors or wise leaders. They are not to be greatly blamed; it is the foreign missionaries and teachers who are really responsible. "The vision of a New China, regenerated and invigorated by means of democratic institutions, so widely proclaimed after the triumph of the revolution, was a delusion for which the Chinese were less to blame than the foreigners in their midst, who inspired and encouraged it." These sound like hard words. Yet anyone who will examine the condition carefully, without religious and national prejudice, uninfluenced by empty words and phrases, must admit that there is much in Bland's position. A people, happily adjusted in a society thousands of years old, is not to be changed in a night. The Chinese people neither demanded, wished, or needed a republic. They do not demand, wish, or need one now—nor will they next year, or in the next generation. They will be better off when the pretext of such a thing is done away with. The present inconsistency is harmful. Would that Japan had not set herself against Yuan Shi-kai! China of today has no man in sight who can and will control and hold that mighty aggregation of people as it must be held and controlled if it is to survive and advance. Mr. Bland feels that salvation is only to be found in the taking over of the finances of the country by foreign powers; administration of these by an international board that shall be honest, wise, exacting, is the only hope. Such a financial control, aiming to develop a strong centralized government with money to support it, would not need to last forever. A period of years would produce a government which could be left in charge. To bring about his plan, all foreign nations, including Japan and Britain, would be obliged to surrender their special privileges; all military forces under local governors would necessarily be abandoned; a well trained military force should be developed, responsible directly and only to Peking; the greatest of care should be exercised in granting loans—China's one passion for years has been to secure loans, money to pass through the hands of manipulators. This new government of Bland's proposal would of course be non-representative, autocratic, presumably best a monarchy. One of the most interesting essays in the second part of the book is the one bearing the title "An Emperor in Waiting." It is not impossible that the young ex-emperor, now growing up under careful instruction, may ultimately prove the only rallying point that can be ultilized.

The diary has ever been a favorite form of literary composition in Japan. From early times down to the present day, men, women and children have delighted to write down their daily experiences, their crises, the excursions and pilgrimages. These diaries are unusually simple and naive, as if one wrote only for himself, without a thought that others might see what was written; yet, presumably, there has never been a time when others would not read the writing without compunction, if it fell under the eye. Many such diaries have survived through centuries, some in manuscript, some in print. Several are famous. In literature, as in other phases of Japanese life, woman has played an important part; has occupied an important place. In our popular thought, the Japanese woman is a being suppressed, oppressed, without thought, without expression. In fact some of the most famous Japanese authors have been women, and their names are household words and their writings are known and quoted. Three diaries by such authors are brought together in the book before us.[3] The authors were court ladies of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Murasaki Shikibu is one of the greatest Japanese writers, author of the famous *Genji Monogatari*. Izumi Shikibu was four years her elder; she was a poet of exceptional alertness and shrewdness. These two were at Court at the same time and between them there was no little room for jealousy and dislike. The personal name of the third diarist is not known, but she was a daughter of Fujiwara Takasue and her period was about thirty years later than that of the other two. The diaries differ in character. The first covers a few years in the life of its gifted author; the second depicts but a single episode, of somewhat

[2] "China, Japan and Korea." J. O. P. Bland. New York: 1921. Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo; pp. x, 327.

[3] "Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan." Translated by Annie Shepley Omori and Kochi Doi. Boston and New York: 1920. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 8vo; pp. xxxiii, 201.

shady character; the third was written at intervals during a rather long life, and itself covers a period of forty years. All are interesting, throwing light not only upon the individual psychology of their writers, but also upon the court life of the time, a life elegant and refined, but voluptuous and corrupt. It was a court given up to trifles and luxuries, but trifles and luxuries which have left a permanent impression upon life and thought. The court amusement of matching poems is well illustrated and curious details are given of the extraordinary beauty of fabrics and dress. Standards of conduct and the minute etiquette of social life are sharply brought out. The translation appears to have been well done and the book has a sympathetic introduction by Amy Lowell. Though a Houghton-Mifflin book, it carries some illustrations, several in colors. They serve to explain references to dress and surroundings that occur in the text.

Few Japanese who have lived among us professionally have left as deep an impression as Okakura Kakuzo. He was sent by his government to the United States to report upon western art education. Returning to Japan, he was for a time director of the Imperial Art School at Tokyo and later conducted a private academy, notable for its maintenance of the native art standards. He died not long ago, relatively a young man. His book, *The Awakening of Japan,*[4] at its appearance in 1904 met a distinct success. It has now been reissued in a special edition for the Japan Society. The author sketches the movement in Japan, from its period of isolation under the Tokugawa shoguns to its entrance as a nation of high rank in the comity of nations. The book studies conditions and qualities. It investigates the Asiatic conditions from which Japan emerged and the Japanese qualities that made that emergence possible. The movement is traced step by step, and the influences that were at work are clearly shown. It is in this book that Mr. Okakura struck out the truly pertinent expression—"the white disaster." It was evoked by the well-worn "yellow peril." A yellow peril is not impossible, but the white disaster is a reality, from which Asia has suffered and is suffering. Japan paid a fearful price for Westernization. Her friends regret it, but they recognize that it was a question of her continued national existence. Had she not taken over what the West could teach her, she would have disappeared—another India. In Okakura's book we have the reaction described in good and attractive English. Few Japanese who have attempted to write directly in English have so interesting a style.

A veritable library exists regarding the California-Japanese Problem. Americans and Japanese, pro and anti, argument and emotional appeal, all have figured in the discussion. A new book by two Japanese presents the matter with considerable fullness.[5] Beginning with a statement of Japanese traits and attitude, they take up the matter of Japan's policy in Asia and her sphere of activity in that great continent. A study of Japanese emigration follows. Owing to the crowded condition of Japan and the impossibility of providing the means of subsistence and development within her own area, overflow to some place is necessary; this overflow might be to Australia, Canada, the United States, South America. The attempts that have been made in these directions and their result are outlined. There is no question that Japanese would rather come to the United States than to any other of these districts. Why is Japanese immigration unwelcome in California? Racial, political, economic and demographic elements enter into the hostility. The most important discussion of our authors here is that regarding population and birth rate. Japanese birth rate in California is high and many have seen in that fact danger of a future swamping of the American population. Our authors attempt to show that the condition is temporary and that the danger, if it be a danger, will disappear of itself. In their discussion of the possibility of assimilation, they urge their countrymen to cease to build Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in this country. We see neither necessity nor wisdom in this advice Jews everywhere build their temples and synagogues, with no real increase of prejudice therefore—they are hated from racial and economic, rather than truly religious reasons. The advice is however in line with the entire course of their argument, which is to irritate as little as possible through any outstanding peculiarities, to conform and to adjust themselves to conditions to the utmost. The discussion as a whole is good, though there are others of equal quality. The book has some "appendices," wherein the results of various investigations, the texts of some laws and treaties and some useful abstracts and extracts are presented.

In 1919 and 1920 Yone Noguchi, the well known Japanese poet, made a lecture tour through the United States. The trio of lectures then given were *Japan Today, Literary Co-operation Between Japan and America, Japanese Poets and Poetry.* These lectures, with three essays and a postscript, are here gathered into a book.[6] The title under which they are issued and the author's prefatory note indicate a purpose of harmonization. Thus, he says: "With the view that the real understanding between America and Japan is momentous today when wild misinformations overrun freely, this book is published."

FREDERICK STARR.

OLD AGE.

(A word to whom it may concern.)
Dost think of growing old with dread?
Or pity us already there?
Then hear the truth! be comforted
And let your pity rest elsewhere.

Truth is, that man's immortal soul,
On Life's Eternal journey bound,
Moves toward its ever lifting goal
On spiral pathway, round and round—
Returning on each round again
To former *place* on higher *plane.*

Childhood is part of our career
Wherein "to love and to be loved"
Is all the use of being here!

Old age is "second childhood" won—
Wherein "to love and to be loved"
Is sweet excuse for holding on!

(Aye—tell the whole truth in a breath—
For all of life twixt birth and death,
Those six small words in full express
Its meaning, use and blessedness.)

C. H. EWING.

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[4] "The Awakening of Japan." Okakura Kakuzo. New York: 1921. The Japan Society. 16mo; pp. xiii, 225.

[5] "Japan and the California Problem." T. Iyenaga and K. Sato. New York: 1921. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo; pp. vi, 249.

[6] "Japan and America." Yone Noguchi. Tokyo and New York: 1921. Orientalia. 16mo; pp. 109.

THE FIELD.

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ANOTHER COMMUNITY CHURCH.

Typifying the community spirit which permeates every home in the northwest district, embracing Grandview, Marble Cliff and Upper Arlington, is the First Community Church of Grandview, "the church with the open door," as it has come to be known. Presiding over the destiny of this little stone meeting place, which is the nucleus for numerous activities of the residents of that district, many of which have no real connection with the church itself, is Rev. Oliver Clyde Weist.

Varied work in five different denominations has stood him in good stead, Rev. Mr. Weist says, in the community church work in which he is now engaged. That his church shall serve the community is this pastor's chief concern. "Whatever else we get out of the Bible," he says, "its one great message is brotherhood, but it is strange how the church of Jesus Christ has tried to teach that message. In the average community the children have the same public school, the same postoffice, the same drug store, and depot, but when it comes to religion there are usually two or three churches, making religion the devisive factor in the community. Religion, especially the Christian religion, should bind folks together, but often divides the people of the community into competing groups or sets.

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The Wisdom of the Peoples

VI. THE PROVERBS OF BELGIUM.

The birds which sing too early in the morning are caught by the cat.

Who runs fast does not run long.

Sow the wind, and harvest a storm.

He who enters here, as a friend, never comes too early, but rather too late.

Sickness comes on horseback, but leaves on foot.

An old tree does not stand replanting.

There is a boot to fit every foot.

God makes the day, and we must make the best of it.

Through hammering you will become a smith.

Do well, and never look back.

Do not discard your old shoes before you have acquired a new pair.

All water runs to the sea.

Words are good, but examples are more effective still.

Anger is a bad adviser.

To borrow means sorrow.

Who loves danger will perish by it.

Every little hedge shelters from the wind.

To hear, watch, keep silent and endure, teaches you everything without asking.

Cunning beats brute force.

Times gives advice.

Honor is better than honors.

Who pays his debts enriches himself.

Happy nations have no history.

Even if there is nothing left, there still remains something.

One is betrayed by one's own friends.

The beautiful is less what one sees than what one dreams.

Empty ears of corn raise their heads the highest.

A stroke of the tongue is worse than a stroke of the sword.

The friends of my friends are my friends.

If no thrushes are available, one has to do with blackbirds.

The tune makes the song.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

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cause it was known that other churches were to be planted in the neighborhood and there were indications that there were to be three or four struggling churches on the back end of the lot, as Mr. Weist expresses it, with three or four ministers tagging each other around doing a work which any one could do better alone, and with three or four Ladies' Aid socities holding as many bean suppers to eke out the same number of parsimonious salaries. The prospect of all of this did not appeal to the people of the community and in self defense they voted unanimously to become an undenominational church in the hope that the mistakes of the fathers in other small communities would not be visited upon the children of this community.

Because there are so many young people in the neighborhood, interested in the development of their children, this pioneer young preacher of undenominationalism has succeeded beyond his fondest expectations in the growth of his church and the amount of good that it has accomplished. By coming together in one church the congregation has been able to employ, in addition to the minister, the services of a full-time church secretary, a kindergarten teacher in the Italian section of the community and also an instructor of religious education in the public schools.

An indication that the community has not caused the members of the church and residents of the district to lose sight of the importance of religion is gained from a comparison of the enrollment in the religious education classes which it sponsors in the public schools of the community. Last year 84 per cent of the children enrolled were also members of the religious education classes. This year the religious education enrollment is nearly 100 per cent of the total enrollment.

To answer the criticisms and questions of strong denominationalists who doubt the efficacy or right purpose of the community church, Rev. Mr. Weist has a number of things to say. To those who say the community church centers around the personality of its minister, he says, "Yes, and so does many a denominational church if it succeeds. Every church depends on its leadership."

When the question is put as to whether the community church is a spiritual church, he answers: "It is spiritual if engaged in the same work that Jesus is engaged in—that of restoring, healing, redeeming, not merely the individual but society as well."

To the suggestion that the community church may become narrow and selfish, he says: "As long as any body of Christians keeps before it the words of our Lord about 'making disciples' and 'uttermost parts of the earth' there need be little fear of selfishness. The community church has a missionary program that appeals to many who never before possessed the missionary spirit. Not all denominational churches closely linked up can be known as missionary churches by any means but the fault is not to be laid at the door of any organization but to the fact that Jesus Christ has not been made supreme."

THOMAS STARR KING

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